

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 AID-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 EB-07 AGR-05 SAB-01 /082 W

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P R 022145Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0480

INFO AMEMBASSY MANAGUA

AMEMBASSY PANAMA

AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

USCINCSO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SAN SALVADOR 1105

USCINCSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS PGOV, PFOR, PORG, ES

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: EL SALVADOR'S POLICIES AND INTERESTS

VIS A VIS MULTINATIONAL ISSUES

REF: STATE 037591

1. THE FOLLOWING REPRESENTS THE CT'S ANALYSIS OF EL SALVADOR'S POSITIONS AND POLICIES VIS A VIS THE MULTINATIONAL QUESTIONS POSITED REFTEL, IN THE SAME ORDER.

2. (A) EL SALVADOR HAS NO DISTINCT OR UNIQUE OVERRIDING OR PRIMORDIAL NATIONAL INTEREST OR OBJECTIVE THAT IT WILL PURSUE IN THE CONTEXT OF A MULTILATERAL APPROACH IN 1976, SUCH AS IT HAD IN 1975. LAST YEAR, EL SALVADOR ADDRESSED ALMOST EVERY MULTILATERAL DECISION IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS ALL-OUT EFFORT TO ELECT A SALVADORAN (AQUINO) TO HIGH OFFICE IN AN INTERNATIOVAL FORUM (SECGEN FAO). THE EFFORT FAILED DESPITE THE BEST AND MOST SINGLE MINDED PURSUIT OF THE OBJECTIVE, INCLUDING THE REVERSAL

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OF A NUMBER OF PREVIOUSLY SACROSANCT GOES ATTITUDES. THUS

1975 SAW EL SALVADOR ATTEND A NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE FOR THE FIRST TIME (EXPLORATORY IN HAVANA, LATER AS AN OBSERVER IN LIMA) AND SEND ITS UNDER-SECRETARY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AS FAR AS PEKING TO DRUM UP SUPPORT FOR ITS CANDIDATE. EL SALVADOR LEARNED A NUMBER OF LESSONS FROM THE 1975 EXERCISE: (A) FIRST, THAT DESPITE THE PROFESSED UNANIMOUS SUPPORT OF THE LATIN AMERICAN REGIONAL BLOC, EL SALVADOR NEVER REALLY STOOD A CHANCE AGAINST A BETTER ORGANIZED AND HEAVIER ARMED AGGREGATE - THE ARABLS AND THEIR FRIENDS WHOM THE GOES CONSIDERS REVEALED THEIR GREED AND PUSHINESS IN ELECTING THEIR OWN MAN; (B) SECOND, THAT A MINISCULE COUNTRY LIKE EL SALVADOR, NOT BEING A MEMBER OF A POWERFUL BLOC OR WITH ANY INTRINSIC STRENGTH OF ITS OWN IN INTERNATIONAL MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS, WILL NOT RECEIVE ITS FAIR SHARE OF INTERNATIONAL GOODIES. AS A RESULT OF THIS PERCEPTION, EL SALVADOR WILL MOST LIKELY RETURN TO ITS PREVIOUS MULTILATERAL POSTURE, THAT IS, PARTICIPATE IN THOSE INTERNATIONAL BODIES (UN, OAS, INTERNATIONAL COFFEE ORGANIZATION) IN WHICH IT HAS AN OBVIOUS NEED TO PROTECT ITS BEST INTERESTS. IT IS UNLIKELY TO PURSUE ANY NEW INITIATIVES OR OFFER CANDIDATES FOR HIGH OFFICE IN MULTILATERAL BODIES THIS YEAR.

3. (B) EL SALVADOR IS SENSITIVE, IN A RELATIVELY SIGNIFICANT WAY, TO INFLUENCE EMANATING FROM FOUR EXTERNAL SOURCES - CENTRAL AMERICAN AS A SUB-REGION, THE UNITED STATES, THE LATIN AMERICAN BLOC AND THE "GROUP 77". THE FIRST TWO WOULD ALTERNATE IN PRIORITY OF IMPORTANCE DEPENDING ON THE ISSUE, WITH THE US MOST INFLUENTIAL ON INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ISSUES, MOST OF WHICH WOULD NORMALLY BE ONLY OF MARGINAL INTEREST TO EL SALVADOR, AND THE CA REGION OF GREATER IMPACT ON THE DEVELOPED VS. DEVELOPING WORLDS' ISSUES AND THOSE EMOTIONAL ISSUES WHICH CLAIM ALMOST AUTOMATIC ALLEGIANCE AMONG THE CA REPUBLICS, I.E., THE PANAMA CANAL AND BELIZE. EMOTIONAL ISSUES OF BROADER APPEAL WHICH ALSO ATTRACT EL SALVADOR'S SUPPORT INCLUDE ANTI-COLONIALISM AND ANTI-RACISM. THE LATIN AMERICAN BLOC, AS AN ENTITY, IS A DISTANT THIRD PLACE IN INFLUENCE EXCEPT ON REGIONAL ISSUES. USUALLY THE BLOC HAS INTERNAL DIVISIONS GIVING THE GOES THE OPTION OF JOINING WHICHEVER GROUP IT FEELS REPRESENTS ITS OWN BEST INTERESTS. AGAIN, ON THE ESSENTIALLY EMOTIONAL LATIN ISSUES, WHERE THE LATIN AMERICA REGION IS ABLE TO FORGE A SINGLE POLICY, EL SALVADOR COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO

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BREAK WITH THE REGIONAL CONSENSUS. ON OTHER ISSUES, IT IS WILLING TO LISTEN TO REASON AND VOTE ACCORDINGLY. THE "GROUP OF 77" IS INFLUENTIAL ON ECONOMIC ISSUES SEPARATING THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING WORLDS. EL SALVADOR DOES LITTLE PROSLETIZING WITH OTHER COUNTRIES BEYOND THE CA SUB-REGION AND IS DEFINITELY NOT A LEADER ON MULTILATERAL WORLD ISSUES WITHIN THE SUB-REGION.

4. (C) OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT THE GOES PERMANENT DELEGATES TO THE UN, OAS, AND GENEVA NORMALLY OPERATE UNINSTRUCTED OR

UNDER FLEXIBLE INSTRUCTIONS. THEY VOTE, ESPECIALLY ON THOSE ISSUES OF MARGINAL IMPORTANCE TO EL SALVADOR, THEIR OWN BEST ESTIMATE AS TO WHERE EL SALVADOR'S INTEREST LIES. THE GOES TAKES CARE IN SELECTING THESE REPRESENTATIVES, AND EXPECTS THEY UNDERSTAND AND VOTE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S OVERALL FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS. WE PRESUME THAT THEY CONSULT CLOSELY WITH THEIR CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTERPARTS AND TO SOME EXTENT WITH THE LATIN AMERICAN BLOC.

DELEGATIONS TO SPECIAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES ARE ALSO CAREFULLY SELECTED, AND GO WITH INSTRUCTIONS AS TO THE LIMITS OF THEIR NEGOTIATING POSITIONS. THE GOES RETAINS EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER ITS DELEGATIONS, BOTH PERMANENT AND ONE-SHOT, IN THAT WE KNOW OF NO CASE IN WHICH A SALVADORAN DELEGATION HAS VOTED CONTRARY TO CLEAR INSTRUCTIONS. A MORE LIKELY OCCURANCE WOULD BE A NON-INSTRUCTED PERMANENT REP VOTING IN A WAY UNBEKNOWNST TO THE GOVERNMENT OR GETTING UNCLEAR INSTRUCTIONS. THIS WOULD ONLY BE LIKELY TO OCCUR ON ISSUES WHERE THE PERMREP FELT THE SALVADORAN INTEREST WAS MINIMAL. ON ISSUES OF CONCERN TO THE GOES, WE ASSUME THE DELEGATES DO REPORT ADEQUATELY TO RECEIVE TIMELY AND APPROPRIATE INSTRUCTIONS WHEN NEEDED. ON OTHERS, IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT THIS IS THE CASE.

5. (D) NO. HOWEVER, EL SALVADOR'S UN PERM REP DR. GALINDO POHL, IS CONSIDERED TO BE THE COUNTRY'S SINGLE OUTSTANDING INTERNATIONAL STATESMAN AND EXPERT, AND, CONSEQUENTLY, HIS OPINION CARRIES PREPONDERANT WEIGHT IN DETERMINING THE GOES POSITION.

6. (E) YES, AND GENERALLY WILLING TO ACCOMMODATE OUR NEEDS IF IT CAN DO SO WITHOUT JEOPARDIZING ITS SELF-INTERESTS OR ITS PLACE AMONG ITS SISTER CA REPUBLICS. NO. YES.

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